

101 gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments
 [72] by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of
 [346] which are clustered about a "house tambran" or men's cere-
 [423] monial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tam-
 [351] bran. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is deter-
 mined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact
 that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature
 of the mountain slopes.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among
 [62] the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are
 members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not
 necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not com-
 pletely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically de-
 scend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of
 Hongwan subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig,
 the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and
 the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs
 has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are
 claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are vari-
 ously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and
 parts of the human body.

613 Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component
 families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a
 [361] lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms
 part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family
 lines whose members descend from a common grandfather.
 The men of a single family line also build their houses near
 one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that
 [594] formed by the sons of a father.

611 Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his
 father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to
 have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem an-
 cestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *Biological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI,
 Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled
 by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch
 Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological
 Survey.

423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between
these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tambran of the hamlet on which its
• 594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family
line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the
various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or
more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of
the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each
of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the
family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract
sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and
must obtain the consent of the other members of his family
line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively
constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept rela-
tively constant in a society where land may be neither bought,
sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and
trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for pre-
venting property violations against members of his immedi-
ate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights
against outsiders.¹⁰ In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] ¹⁰ Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.